in-laws grandparents. By reversing Barrett's statement in line with this simple observation it can be said that the primary meaning of /anč̃ípa/ is 'father-in-law' and secondarily and tenuously, 'grandfather.'

Descent is today still bi-lateral, and residence is still bi-local with neo-locality as a very common alternate. Murdock in discussing incest taboos and their extensions placed the Cayapa in class B2-M1-P1.

> B2. Minimal Bilateral Extension.--marriage forbidden or disapproved with all first cousins but permitted with at least some second cousins.
> M1. Matrilineal Non-Extension--absence of any tendency to extend marriage prohibitions further in the female line than in any other.
> P1. Patrilineal Non-Extension--absence of any tendency to extend prohibitions further in the male line than in any other (Murdock 1949: 302-303).

Murdock in this classification went beyond the data presented by Barrett: the Cayapa should have been classified in the category of Normal Bilateral Extension. Kindreds are unreported by Barrett, but are established in our data. There are two terms which may be translated as 'family' or 'kindred,' /pándatála/, /pánda/ 'food, plantain,' /-tála/ 'together,' and /bálutála/. Maximino Mendoza Añapa's father's brother brought him a woman to marry, but Maximino refused, saying that she is /lále bálutalába/ 'we-family-together-with.' The

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relationship is very distant and the family concerned thought that it would be alright-in fact much to be preferred to her marrying a 'cousin.' Many Cayapa feel, as does Maximino, that there should be a maximum bilateral extension of the incest taboo to the kindred; however, we will present legal material that indicates the beginnings of a narrowing of the incest range. Certainly, Maximino's family were willing to narrow the range.

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Kinship nomenclature.

Father /apa/
Mother /ama/
Grandfather /aipa/
Grandmother /áma/
Father's brother /apipi/, /apíku/
Mother's brother /ahčiyu/ m.s., /ahpáyu/ w.s.
Father's brother's son /apiná.tala/ m.s.
/pandehá^{i}ya/ w.s. /apinatehá^{i}ya/ w.s.
Father's brother's daughter /apiná.tacùhki/, pandecùhki/
Mother's brother's son /amʔuna.tála/
Mother's brother's daughter /amʔúmʔu/, /amʔuná.tacùhki/
Father's sister /amʔúmʔu/ m.s. /amʔuná?aa/ w.s.
Mother's sister /aapúku/
Father's sister's son /amʔuná.tala/
Father's sister's daughter /amʔuna.tacùhki/, /hʔámʔu/ (elder)
Mother's sister's son /aapuná.tala/
Mother's sister's daughter /aapuhúma/, /aapuatacùhki/ /hʔámʔu/ (elder) /ha^{i}ʔʔu/ (younger)
Brother /há.tala/ m.s. /ahúma/ w.s.
Elder brother /amʔúku/
Younger brother /háma/

and say that it is because Jesus said that if the world comes to an end while many Cayapa are living, it would be very sad for them; it is therefore necessary for many infants to die. The population figures do indeed indicate that the Cayapa are not reproducing. For the Río Cameronese there is an average of 3.5 living children for each woman of childbearing age and almost 17 per cent sterility among the women.

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Adoption. Children will be adopted within the kindred if the parents should die, but there is seldom adoption of non-related children or of illegitimate children. There are a few instances of an illegitimate child's being kept by the mother, but more often she will kill it at birth. The mother may offer the child for adoption, but the general feeling is that such a child having been conceived in sin is non-Christian, and few people want such a child. The Christian thing to do, they feel, is to kill it.

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There is something in the nature of short-term "loans" of children. A child is sometimes sent to live with an "uncle" or other near relative for varying periods of time. In some cases the relatives are

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known to one while living; however, there is one exception, this one being that one's /padéna?ápa/, the god-father of the wedding, who sees the newly arrived soul and calls its name. In heaven one is re-united with the god-father and not the father. This story indicates that the major relationship that is set up is between the bridal couple and the padrinos and not between compadres. The marriage padrinos tend to be of the same generation as the bridal couple, and the feeling is that it is best to select padrinos from within the kindred. Padrinos are always man and wife, so that if one wishes a particular individual to be his padrino, then his wife automatically becomes his madrina. If incest taboos did not apply before, they are now extended, and the children of all of the ritual-kin are forbidden to marry each other.

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Except for remarriage, when it is permissible to choose new padrinos for the new marriage, it would appear that the ties of the marriage compadrazgo could not multiply "to meet the accelerated rate of change." I have the slightest suggestion of evidence that indicates that this may very well be happening. I was

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